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Political History of the United States. With Special Reference to the Growth of Political Parties. By J. P. GORDY, Ph.D. In four volumes. Vol. II. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1902. Pp. 581.)

THIS, the second volume of Professor Gordy's work, bears a new title. The preface says: "The title under which the first edition of this work appeared, namely, '*A History of Political Parties in the United States*,' was found to be inapt, as not properly indicating the subject-matter, and as causing the work to be confused with ephemeral campaign histories. It has therefore been determined to call it what it is — a *Political History of the United States*." The change of title does not, however, imply a change of plan. Political parties receive nearly as much attention as in the first volume; and their importance is recognized both in the full title and in the running half-title.

The period covered extends from Madison's inauguration in 1809 to the election of Jackson in 1828, a scant twenty years. Between these dates occurred Madison's diplomatic duels with Canning and Napoleon; the War of 1812; the acquisition of the Floridas; the announcement of the Monroe doctrine; a great migration into the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi; the rise of the question of internal improvements to a position of high importance; a rapid development of manufacturing in the northern and middle sections, due in large part to the embargo and the war; the consequent adoption by these sections of the policy of high protection; the suicide of the Federalist party; the temporary conversion of the Republican party to Federalist doctrines; the democratizing of state constitutions; the early stages of the organization of a new and more radical Democracy under the leadership of Jackson; the beginning of a general reconstruction of the party system; and two seasons of financial and economic disaster, one before and during the war, the other culminating in 1819.

In apportioning this large and important field Professor Gordy gives to the period which precedes the war, a space of three and a fourth years, considerably more than a third of the entire book. The events of this period which he narrates relate in the main to diplomatic history; it is the story told with exceptional clearness of the struggle of Madison to maintain against Canning and Napoleon the rights of the United States — a struggle made ineffectual not so much by Madison's lack of astuteness as by the treachery of Republican leaders in the Senate, and by the cowardice of the Eleventh Congress.

Four chapters, each of great value, cover the war period. The subjects are "War Legislation," "Bankruptcy of the Government," "The Hartford Convention," and "The English Liberals and the American Federalists." Despite Professor Gordy's well-deserved reputation for even-handed justice, I think that in the last two of these chapters the Federalists are treated with undue severity. It is true that they erred in judgment and were deficient in patriotism; but it was good luck rather than

wisdom or patriotism that saved their opponents. Jefferson was probably right in thinking that "if the war had continued a year longer it would have upset our government." The undeniable coldness of the Federalists towards the Union before and during the war was due in the main to the mismanagement of its affairs by the Republicans during the period from 1807 to the close of the war.

The chapter on "The English Liberals and the American Federalists," after quoting the censures of the Tory government by the Liberals because of its injustice to the United States, affirms that "the Federalists were much more ready to excuse England in her violation of our rights than were the English Liberals." There is truth in these assertions, but something that needs to be noted is left unsaid. Both the American Federalists and the English Liberals were parties in opposition; and each criticised the government, or the party in power, as is the wont of such parties. If in doing this the American opposition party went further than the English, it should be remembered that the American had more to complain of, and that in 1812 the restraining influence of national sentiment was less felt in the United States than in England—a fact which explains and excuses much in the conduct of Republicans as well as of Federalists. What was wholly virtuous when done by the English party in opposition does not become wholly vicious when done by its American counterpart.

In the following chapter, New England, at that time under the control of the Federalists, is made responsible for the refusal of Congress to follow "the lead of Madison and Gallatin in 1809"; for "if England and Napoleon had been given the alternative of ceasing their aggression or of going to war, there is great probability that the war would have been fought against France alone. In such a war the whole country would have been united." But the Congress that refused to follow the lead of Madison and Gallatin in 1809 was not under the control of New England or of the Federalist party. How then can they be held responsible for its conduct?

But if I could establish my contention as to these and other points that seem to me in some degree questionable, it would not detract sensibly from the many and solid merits of this book. Professor Gordy has sought by unsparing effort to find the truth, and to tell it conscientiously. Each chapter is well wrought out and is instructive. The first volume was very good; this is better; and the reader will wait with impatience for those—more than two, I venture to hope—that are to follow.

ANSON D. MORSE.

The Civil War and the Constitution, 1859-1865. By JOHN W. BURGESS. [American History Series.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1901. Two Vols., pp. x, 320; vii, 347.)

PROFESSOR BURGESS has come so near writing the whole of this series that it does not strike one as an instance of the co-operative method in history work. His *Civil War* should be judged, I think, as any other